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The maloca where Namíri Majsé was is called Namiriwí. As soon as Namíri Majsé opened the two doors of the malocas, a strong wind came. And where the four Bajsébo Majsá and the two Umékori Majsá girls were there was a pachuba bush. The pachuba bush had a bunch of fruit that had not yet burst open. And the strong wind that came opened the bunch of fruit and caused it to make a sound. And the noise of the bunch of fruit that was opening came down with the wind and grazed the two Umékori Majsá girls from the abdomen to the vaginal opening, and then the two girls had their first menstruation. Before this no girl had had menstruation.

When Namíri Majsé saw that the two girls had had their first menstruation, he came down to make love to the two sisters. Then the four Bajsébo Majsá turned into spirits and disappeared, because they knew that Namíri Majsé had come down from the sky. And they disappeared in order to see what Namíri Majsé did to the two Umékori Majsá sisters. Then, /343/ when Namíri Majsé came down, he spread over the ground some fine little switches, which are called Imisa in Tucano /Tucano/, in order to lie down with both Umékori Majsá sisters and have sexual relations with them. Meanwhile the four Bajsébo Majsá were watching. Before this no one had had sexual relations or knew how to do it. And when Namíri Majsé finished having sexual relations with both sisters, the four Bajsébo /sic/ Majsá appeared again. And Namíri Majsá /sic/ had gone. And then the four Bajsébo Majsá asked the two sisters what they had done. Then they answered: "Namíri Majsé only came to see what we were doing." Then the Bajsébo Majsá said: "Well, why is it that the stools where we sat down and the coca that we ate and the ground are bloody? We should not have sexual relations. Yepá Huáke did not permit us to have sexual relations." With this, Yepá Huáke appeared. The four Bajsébo Majsá were about to abandon the two Umékori Majsá girls. Then Yepá Huáke said to the four Bajsébo Majsá: "What has happened? I ordered you to take the two Umékori Majsá girls, to examine the food stones (Bajséboperi)

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b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

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34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

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As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

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35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman. We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

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/footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same.

Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mō-yōlse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

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68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mūhf-pū dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mōsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lary. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

beeswax. When enemy *Mainwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these ogres most successfully. The *abúhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abúhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abúhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abúhukū* tries to catch a woman.

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Nyama abúhuko (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opúmbibekū*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

Kimi is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons."

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Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with *genipa*. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the *Culuiari*. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only.

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The river is also the home of the *munipwūwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless.

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The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *dyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyūnbekūku* (Old man *munyūn*), a

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RELIGION

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

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Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parákū* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

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Genipa (*rei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

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Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yaví*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

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Among ceremonial objects the *behörū* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

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The Forest Addicts

partly explained by the environment in which they live - has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region.

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased.

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks.

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration - signs of evil to the Indians - it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest - a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence.

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more.

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari¹. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like

¹ Jurupari in fact seems to be 'lingua general' for god - and is not peculiar to the Tukano.